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HISTORIC BACKGROUND

UNLIKE most tribes of the Northern Plains, the Mandan have moved little since first mentioned in the accounts of travelers, and their basic culture has changed little except for minor adjustments in their economy resulting from the introduction of the horse and European trade goods. The prominent part played by agriculture and the size and concentration of their villages at and above the mouth of the Heart River in early historic times, the semisedentary nature of their population, and their comparatively richer material wealth distinguished them from the nomadic buffalo hunters when European explorers first reached the Northern Plains. During late prehistoric times the Mandan were in intimate contacts with the Awatixa and Awaxawi bands of semisedentary Hidatsa, whose villages were situated below the Knife River at this time. So far as the writer was able to determine, the Mandan have always remained on friendly terms with the various Hidatsa and Crow groups.

Their first contacts were with the French coming overland from the Lake Winnipeg region to trade shortly after A.D. 1700, for La Harpe in A.D. 1719 gave the location of the Arikara on the Missouri as one hundred and twenty leagues southeast from "seven famous villages," which would, from the location of the Arikara in the La Harpe map, place the Mandan near the mouth of the Heart River.[1] We cannot be certain that the "seven famous villages" referred to by La Harpe do not include both the Mandan and at least part of the Hidatsa villages, since the Hidatsa are not mentioned in the literature until 1797, when they were identified by David Thompson as a separate linguistic group.[2] La Verendrye, who visited the earth-lodge vil-

1. Bernard de la Harpe, "Relation du voyage de Bernard de la Harpe," in Pierre Margry (ed.), *Découvertes et établissements des Française dans l'ouest et dans le sud de l'Amérique septentrionale, 1614–1754*, Sixième partie (Paris, 1886), pp. 292–93.

2. *David Thompson's Narrative of His Explorations in Western America, 1784–1812*, ed. J. B. Tyrrell (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1916), pp. 209–42.

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lages on the Upper Missouri River in 1738, was the first known explorer to leave a written account of his observations.[3] In company with a large party of Assiniboine, he followed an old Indian trail that had been in long use by the Assiniboine when visiting the agricultural villages to barter for corn and other agricultural products. He set out from the junction of the Red and Assiniboine rivers on September 26, 1738, to visit a people known as the Montannes, who lived on a river believed to flow into the Pacific Ocean. Contacts with the earth-lodge groups must have been numerous, since the "Montannes" spoke Assiniboine well. Concerning the village where he headquartered, he wrote:

> I gave orders to count the cabins, and we found that there were one hundred and thirty. All the streets, squares and cabins are uniform in appearance; often our Frenchmen would lose their way in going about. They kept the streets and open places very clean, the ramparts are smooth and wide; the palisade is supported on cross pieces morticed into posts fifteen feet apart with a lining. For this purpose they use green hides fastened only at the top in places where they are needed. As to the bastians, there are four of them at each curtain well flanked. The fort is built on an elevation in mid-prairie with a ditch fifteen feet deep and from fifteen to eighteen wide.[4]

He believed that these fortified villages were impregnable to attack. The younger La Verendrye went to another fort situated on the bank of the river and declared that it was twice as large. La Verendrye was told that there were six large villages on both banks of the river and that a day's march from the last of these were the Pananas, who had several forts, and then the Pananis. This would indicate that part of the Arikara had already moved northward to the neighborhood of the Grand River, a region which at that time had not been entered by the French traders.

M. Bellen's map of 1755 was the first to show the location of the Mandan villages.[5] This map shows the "Riv. des Mantons" flowing southeastward but fails to connect it with any of the streams in that direction. He wrote: "On ne connoit pas les sources du Missouri," and, of the "Riv. des Mantons," he added: "on ne scait si cette Riviere n'est pas la source du

3. *Journals and Letters of Pierre Gaultin de Varennes de La Verendrye and His Sons*, ed. Lawrence J. Burpee (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1927), pp. 290–360.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 339–40.
5. N. H. Winchell, *The Aborigines of Minnesota* (St. Paul: Pioneer Press, 1911), p. 47.

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Missouri." This map shows the Mandan and Arikara to be living about three hundred miles apart. Recent archeological studies of Arikara sites on the Missouri above Pierre, South Dakota, by the writer have shown that Arikara groups were also occupying the unexplored sections of the Missouri below the Mandan villages at this time.

Mackintosh (1773) reported that the Mandans were living in the Heart River region with from nine to thirteen villages on both banks of the Missouri River, with many thousands of warriors.[6] Since the Mandan have never claimed as many as thirteen villages and, in view of the fact that no reference is made to the agricultural Hidatsa groups who were living on the Missouri near by at that time, according to traditional and archeological evidence, it is to be presumed that Mackintosh's account included both Mandan and Hidatsa earth-lodge groups. Laurie and Whittle's map (1782) enumerates and locates a number of tribes heretofore not reported.[7] It resembled Bellen's map of 1755 in that the "Mantons River" still was not recognized to be a section of the Missouri. The Mandan lived along the "Mantons River," which flowed to the southeast. Their nearest neighbors were the Nadouasis, who had left the headwaters of the Mississippi, crossed the Red River, and were living below the Mandan villages. Immediately to the west of the Mandan villages were the Snake Indians, while the Assiniboine were to the north. The Arikara were to the southeast along the Missouri, while the Tetons occupied the prairie regions between Lake Traverse and the Missouri.

David Thompson in 1797 recognized that the Hidatsa, although living in earth-lodge villages adjacent to the Mandan, were a separate tribal group.[8] Prior to 1797, no references to the Hidatsa appear in the literature, and it is to be presumed that at least part of the tribe consisting of the Awaxawi group, who have a tradition of intimate relations with the Mandan, with whom they were intermarried in 1797, must be included in all

6. H. R. Schoolcraft, *History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States: Collected and Prepared under the Direction of the Bureau of Indian Affairs* (Philadelphia, 1854), III, 253.

7. Winchell, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

8. *Op. cit.*, pp. 225–37.

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previous references to the Mandan. He also recognized both agricultural and nomadic Hidatsa groups. 175 131

The Lewis and Clark journals written at Fort Mandan, where they spent the winter of 1804–5, furnish much data on both the culture and the history of the two tribes. To quote from their journal for November 21, 1804:

> The villages near which we are established are five in number, and are the residence of three distinct nations: the Mandans, the Ahnahaways (Awaxawi), and the Minitarees (Hidatsa and Awatixa). The history of the Mandans, as we received it from our interpreters and from the chiefs themselves, and as it is attested by existing monuments, illustrates more than that of any other nation the unsteady movements and the tottering fortunes of the American nations. Within the recollections of living witnesses, the Mandans were settled forty years ago in nine villages, the ruins of which we passed about eighty miles below, and situated seven on the west and two on the east side of the river. The two, finding themselves wasting away before the smallpox and the Sioux, united into one village and moved up the river opposite to the Ricaras. The same causes reduced the remaining seven to five villages, till at length they emigrated in a body to the Ricara nation, where they formed themselves into two villages and joined those of their countrymen who had gone before them. In their new residence they were still insecure, and at length the three villages ascended the Missouri to their present position. The two who had emigrated together still settled in the two villages on the northwest side of the Missouri, while the single village took a position on the southeast side. In this position they were found by those who visited them in 1796, since which the two villages have united into one. They are now in two villages, one on the southeast of the Missouri, the other on the opposite side and at the distance of three miles across. The first, in an open plain, contains about forty or fifty lodges, built in the same way as those of the Ricaras; the second, the same number; and both may raise about three hundred and fifty men.
>
> On the same side of the River, and at a distance of four miles from the lower Mandan village, is another called Mahaha (Awaxawi). It is situated in a high plain at the mouth of Knife river, and is the residence of the Ahnahaways who formerly resided on the Missouri about thirty miles below where they now live. The Assiniboin and Sioux forced them to a spot five miles higher, where the greater part of them were put to death, and the rest emigrated to their present situation in order to obtain an asylum near the Minnetarees. . . . Their whole force is about fifty men.
>
> On the south side of the same Knife River, half a mile above the Mahaha and in the same open plain with it, is a village of Minnetarees (Awatixa) surnamed Metaharta, who are about one hundred and fifty men in number. On the opposite side of Knife River, one and a half mile above this village, is a second village of Minnetarees (Hidatsa), who may be considered as the proper Minetaree nation. It is situated in a beautiful low plain, and contains four hundred and fifty warriors. . . . The Mandans say that these people came out of the water to the east and settled near them in their former establishment in nine villages. The Minnetarees proper assert, on the contrary, that they grew where they now live. . . . They also say that . . . the Minnetarees of the wil-

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lows (Hidatsa), whose language with very little variation is their own, came many years ago from the plains and settled near them, and perhaps the two traditions may be reconciled by the natural presumption that these Minnetarees were the tribe known to the Mandans below, and that they ascended the river for the purpose of rejoining the Minnetaree proper. . . . The inhabitants of these five villages, all of which are within the distance of six miles, live in harmony with each other. The Ahnahaways understand in part the language of the Minnetarees; the dialect of the Mandans differs widely from both, but their long residence together has insensibly blended their manners and occasioned some approximation in language, particularly as to objects of daily occurrence and obvious to the senses.[9]

Alexander Henry visited the Mandan and Hidatsa in 1806 as a representative of the Northwest Fur Company. He found the three Hidatsa village groups occupying the same villages as in Lewis and Clark's time. The east-side Mandan, however, had moved to the opposite bank, where they had built a new village near the present town of Deapolis. Concerning the reorganization of the Mandan villages after the smallpox epidemic of 1782 and their migration upstream from the mouth of the Heart River to Painted Woods, where one band of Arikara had moved to join the Awaxawi and one band of Mandan who had formerly lived there, he wrote:

> Not many years ago the Pawnees (Arikara) and Mandanes were allied to each other and lived together in the same villages on the Missourie, about 30 leagues below this place. A misunderstanding happening, they separated; the Pawnees retired down the river and built their village where it now stands, and the Mandanes proceeded with an intention of settling themselves somewhere about the confluence of the Little Missouri, or on the upper part of Riviere la Souris. But on their arrival at this place the Big Bellies (Hidatsa) barred the road and put a stop to their westward progress telling them they would not permit anyone to build higher up the river than themselves, and desiring the Mandanes to build where they are at present.[10]

Bradbury and Brackenridge in 1811 found the Mandan and Hidatsa occupying the same sites reported by Henry in 1806.[11] The period 1811–32 is not covered by reports of travelers. The writer learned while studying the ethnology of the Mandan and Hidatsa that one group of Mandan, representing the survivors of the west-side Heart River villages, returned south in 1820 and

9. Elliot Coues (ed.), *History of the Expedition under the Command of Lewis and Clark* (New York: Frances P. Harper, 1893), I, 196–200.

10. *The Manuscript Journals of Alexander Henry and of David Thompson, 1799–1814*, ed. Elliot Coues (New York: Frances P. Harper, 1897), XII, 334.

11. John Bradbury, "Travels in the Interior of America in the Years 1809, 1810, and 1811," in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1904), Vol. V; *Brackenridge's Journal of a Voyage Up the River Missouri*, in *ibid.*, Vol. VI.

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built a village on Eagle Nose Butte, where they remained until 1823, one year after James Kipp established a trading post at the Mandan villages.

Various aspects of Mandan culture were recorded by visitors to the region after 1832. Catlin and Maximilian described the village life in 1832 and 1833 from observations made of their daily activities.[12] Chardon's journals, written at Fort Clark between 1834 and 1839, carries a day-by-day account of the tribe during the second major smallpox epidemic of 1837 and of the reorganization of the population at that time.[13] Kurz, Boller, and Matthews have described various aspects of their culture as observed between 1851 and 1870.[14]

After 1870, the Mandan received little attention until 1908, when Libby used native informants to identify village sites of the Mandan and other tribes on the Upper Missouri.[15] He showed that Mandan sites could be distinguished from those of other tribes by the peculiar arrangement of lodges around a central plaza or open circle. A year later Curtis published a report of the Mandan covering various aspects of their culture.[16] Between 1912 and 1919, Lowie published reports on the social organization, societies, and ethnological problems of the Mandan based on field work with the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Crow.[17]

12. George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians* (Philadelphia, 1857), and *O-Kee-Pa* (Philadelphia, 1867); Maximilian's *Travels in the Interior of North America*, in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. Thwaites, Vols. XXII–XXIV (Cleveland, 1906).

13. *Chardon's Journal at Fort Clark, 1834–1839*, ed. Annie Heloise Abel (Pierre, S.D., 1932).

14. *Journal of Rudolph Friederick Kurz*, ed. J. N. B. Hewitt (Bulletin 115 of the Bureau of American Ethnology [Washington, 1937]); Henry A. Boller, *Among the Indians: Eight Years in the Far West, 1858–1866* (Philadelphia: Elwood Zell, 1868); Washington Matthews, *Ethnography and Philology of the Hidatsa Indians* ("U.S. Geological and Geographical Survey, Miscellaneous Publications," Vol. VII [Washington, 1877]).

15. O. G. Libby, "La Verendrye's Visit to the Mandans in 1738–39" and "Typical Villages of the Mandan, Arikara and Hidatsa in the Missouri Valley, North Dakota," *Collections of the State Historical Society of North Dakota*, Vol. II (1908).

16. Edward S. Curtis, *The North American Indians*, Vol. V: *The Mandan*, ed. Ferderick Webb Hodge (Cambridge, Mass.: University Press, 1909).

17. Robert H. Lowie, "Some Problems in the Ethnology of the Crow and Village Indians," *American Anthropology*, Vol. XIV (new ser., 1912); *Societies of the Hidatsa and Mandan Indians* ("Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History," Vol. XI [1913]); *Social Life of the Mandan and Hidatsa* ("Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History," Vol. XXI [1917]); *The Hidatsa Sun Dance* ("Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XVI [1919]).

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Will and Hyde studied the agriculture of a number of Plains tribes which included the Mandan.[18] Their report indicated that much of the aboriginal Mandan culture could still be preserved from the knowledge of a number of the older Mandan. Densmore's study of Mandan and Hidatsa music indicated something of the rich ceremonialism shared by these two tribes.[19] Beckwith studied and recorded the folklore of the Mandan during the 1930's.[20] Although her reports by no means cover all the secular and sacred myths of this tribe, a considerable body of traditional lore was preserved and recorded during several brief visits to the tribe. Kennard studied the Mandan language in 1933 and published a report on Mandan grammar in 1936.[21]

Archeological studies have not kept pace with the ethnological studies of this important Plains tribe. The first intensive archeological study of a Mandan earth-lodge village site was made by Will and Spinden in 1905 at the Double Ditch site, the residence of the Nuptadi Mandan on the east bank of the Missouri north of Bismarck, North Dakota.[22] Subsequent studies by Strong[23] and by the writer in other documented Mandan sites of the same region show that minor cultural differences existed between Mandan sites of the same period. In 1908 Libby employed native informants to assist in the interpretation of archeological phenomena.[24] He found that lodge arrangement around an open circle was characteristic of the Mandan and Arikara villages, the latter group placing a large circular ceremonial lodge in the center of the open circle, whereas the Hidatsa practiced no particular lodge arrangement, and that the leaders of the Mandan villages lived adjacent to the village plaza. He in-

18. George F. Will and George E. Hyde, *Corn among the Indians of the Upper Missouri* (St. Louis: William Harvey Miner Co., Inc., 1917).

19. Frances Densmore, *Mandan and Hidatsa Music* ("Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology," Bull. 80 [Washington, 1923]).

20. Martha W. Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-lore Society," Vol. XXXII [Boston, 1938]).

21. Edward Kennard, "Mandan Grammar," *International Journal of American Linguistics*, Vol. IX, No. 1.

22. George F. Will and H. J. Spinden, *The Mandans: A Study of Their Culture, Archaeology and Ethnology* ("Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University," Vol. III, No. 4 [Cambridge, Mass., 1906]).

23. William Duncan Strong, *From History to Prehistory in the Northern Great Plains: Essays in Historical Anthropology of North America* ("Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections," Vol. C [Washington, 1940]).

24. *Op. cit.*

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Creek in Burleigh Co., North Dakota, to a point some fifteen miles south of the Knife River in Mercer Co., North Dakota, and this field is again subdivided into the historical and the more or less traditional sites. Of the former little will be said. They are the remains of villages which Lewis and Clarke, Maximilian, Catlin, and other early travellers visited, and are situated on the Missouri about fifteen miles below the Knife River. There is another small set of remains intermediate between the traditional and the historical, the stopping place between the former and the latter. These intermediate sites are on the south side of the Missouri on the bluffs southwest of Washburn, and are rather closely connected with several Arikara sites.

We are concerned here, however, with the oldest villages which were visited by only two white men who have left accounts, the Sieur de Verendrye, and McKenzie, whose account is mentioned by D. D. Mitchell in a letter to Schoolcraft. The question might be raised as to how it is known that the sites visited by Verendrye and McKenzie were the oldest ones. The statement of McKenzie that on his visit the Mandans lived in nine villages should suffice to establish this. According to all accounts, after the removal from the early sites the Mandans did not have at any time over five villages, and these soon shrank to even fewer. If McKenzie found nine villages in 1773 the Mandans must have been occupying the earlier sites, and certainly if they were there in 1773, they were very probably there in 1738. The further fact that Verendrye describes the Mandans as being in full power and prosperity shows also that they had as yet suffered none of the losses by disease and war which caused their removal to the later villages.

The location of these oldest Mandan sites comes up next for consideration. They were situated on the Missouri River near the Heart River, some above, some below, on both sides of the former, but the number of villages is uncertain. The location near the Heart is affirmed by all. Lewis and Clarke's Journal,[1] March 10, 1805, says, "The Mandans formerly lived in six (nine) large villages at and above the mouth of the Heart River." Maximilian[2] says, "After the first alliance with the

[1] Thwaites Edition, vol. I, p. 271.

[2] Op. cit., p. 436.

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172 Hidatsa, the Mandans lived in eight or nine villages at and
175 above the Heart River."

361 The number of these ancient villages is a problem which it is impossible to settle definitely. Even an exact and thorough canvas of the ground cannot settle this, as changes of the river may have caused the entire disappearance of some sites. Historical and archaeological evidence alike leave one in doubt. Verendrye, who visited but one Mandan village, says, "I was answered that there were five forts on the two banks of the river . . . . . much larger than the one we are in."[1] But further on he makes this additional statement, "We noticed that in the plain were several small forts of forty to fifty huts . . . . . but no one was there. . . . . The forts in the plains were occupied during the summer to work their fields . . . . . there was a large store of reserve grain there."[2] Next in point of time comes Lewis and Clarke's account, from which may be given three extracts. "These villages, nine in number are scattered . . . . . for twenty miles, ... almost all that remains of them is the wall surrounding them and the fallen heaps of earth which covered the houses."[3] Again, "Within the recollection of living witnesses, the Mandans were settled . . . . in nine villages . . . . . about eighty miles below . . . . . seven on the west and two on the east side of the Missouri. The two . . . . . wasting before the smallpox and the Sioux united into one village and moved up the river opposite to the Ricaras. The same causes reduced the seven to five . . . . . they immigrated . . . . . to the Ricara Nation . . . . ." Also,[4] "The Mandans formerly lived in six (nine) villages . . . four (six) on the west side, two (three) on the east. One of those on the east and the largest was entirely cut off by Sioux and smallpox."[5] Here is disagreement of the same authority both in the total number of villages and in the relative distribution on the two sides of the river.

Catlin is the next writer who gives a version of the tradition, and in his North American Indians[6] is the statement that the Mandans formerly lived down river in ten villages. Maximilian,

[1] Brymner: op. cit., p. 19. [2] Ibid., p. 23. [3] Oct. 22, 1804.
[4] Nov. 21, 1804. [5] Mar. 10, 1805. Thwaites Edition, I, p. 271. [6] p. 81.

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who next claims attention, gives at least two different versions of the story. In one place[1] he makes the statement that the Mandans formerly lived in thirteen or more villages, each had a name and they distinguished themselves thus: 1. Pheasant Village, 2. Village of (the people of) the West, 3. Bear Village, 4. Badger Village, 5. Prickly Pear Village, 6. Village of the Sulky Ones, because they separated from part of their nation to come up the Missouri. Here is a notable discrepancy between the stated number of villages and the number of names given. In another place he states[2] that after the first alliance with the Hidatsa the Mandans lived in eight or nine villages: 1. The South Village, 2. The Greatest Village, 3. The Scattered Village, 4. The Littlest Village, 5. The Village of Those Who Turn Back, 6. The Village on the Hill, 7. The Village of Those Who Separate their Legs, 8. The Village of Those Who Tattoo Themselves.

Thus the authorities not only disagree with each other, but even vary their own statements. Verendrye says six and a number of smaller ones; McKenzie, nine; Lewis and Clarke, from six to thirteen, at various times. Through all of these accounts, nine seems to be the favorite number, but it might hardly be safe to fix it at that. Perhaps the discrepancy can best be accounted for by remembering Verendrye's story of the summer villages, and the fact that Maximilian speaks of villages in the woods occupied for a short time during the worst of the winter. Another factor which may have a bearing on the matter is the old tradition mentioned by Maximilian[3] that the Hidatsa lived near the Mandans for a few years after their arrival, and before moving up to the Knife River. Considering these facts together with the prevailing traditional number of nine, it might be concluded that at the time of residence on the Heart River there were nine actual fixed villages, and an uncertain number of smaller and less fixed camps. This can be only regarded as a hypothesis.

Archaeological evidence is also conflicting on this subject. Lewis and Clarke noted a number of the remains in passing, and probably a series of quotations from them will best bring out

[1] Op. cit., p. 370. [2] Ibid., p. 436. [3] Ibid., p. 435.

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the points of location which should be emphasized. In Allen's Lewis and Clarke are the following entries:

"Oct. 19. 1804. We camped on the north opposite to the uppermost of a number of round hills. . . . . Near to one of these moles on a point of a hill ninety feet above the plain are the remains of an old village. . . . . "

"Oct. 20. After . . . . . twelve miles we encamped on the south at the upper part of a bluff . . . . . immediately below . . . . . are the remains of a village formerly occupied by the Mandans."

"Oct. 21. At two miles from our encampment . . . . . ruins of a second Mandan village . . . . . on the north at the foot of a hill in a beautiful . . . . . plain . . . . . nearly opposite are remains of a third village on the south . . . . . another . . . . . two miles further on the north. At a distance of seven miles we encamped. . . . . "

"Oct. 22. We passed an old Mandan village on the south . . . . . at four miles another on the same side . . . . . at six we reached an island about one mile in length, at the head of which is a Mandan village on the north in ruins . . . . . at eight miles are remains of another Mandan village on the south."

Here is an actual description and more or less definite location of nine seemingly very noticeable village sites.

Maximilian's[1] notes on the subject come next with the following extracts: " . . . . a chain of hills called the mountains of the old Mandan village, for one of their villages had been where the river cuts the chain. . . . . It was at the foot of a chain of hills on a fine plain not far from the river. . . . . Here began the Mandan territory . . . . . [Later on same day] We cut wood near the mouth of Apple Creek."

"Next day we came in sight of Square Buttes. . . . . After eight hours we came to an old Mandan village on the right in the prairie."

The archaeological information collected by this party increases the uncertainty. No complete archaeological survey was attempted and the location of sites other than those personally visited will not be discussed. The accompanying map

[1] Op. cit., pp. 19 to 22.

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(Map I)[1] marks roughly the sites as judged from the above extracts from Lewis and Clarke, and more accurately the sites which have been actually seen in the course of this investigation. The first site encountered in the above extracts is approximately on the south bank of Apple Creek above some round, clay buttes. This one was not visited. The second site is on the west side of the river at the base of the hill on which the infantry post of Fort Abraham Lincoln was formerly located. This site was examined, and it is accurately marked on the map. Of the next two sites one on the east and one on the west, but little can be said. The first certainly is on the outskirts of the present town of Mandan. The other one possibly has disappeared in the river. At all events, the only corroboration found, after having been over the country, is a small site on the point of a bluff about one mile above the Northern Pacific Railroad bridge over the Missouri. It is not so plain as the others, nevertheless on a cursory investigation and excavation by our party it showed signs of lengthy occupation. The next site mentioned by Lewis and Clarke is stated to be "two miles further on the north and a little off the river." Of this no trace has been found, unless it be that at the Sperry farm. This one is about five miles above the other site; it is on a bluff, bordering what was formerly a creek, and is about two miles from the river. In some respects this fills the requirements, in point of distance, however, it hardly fits with the account.

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Of the locations of the three other villages on the west side of the river Lewis and Clarke's account does not furnish sufficiently accurate details, although a careful examination of the ground might make them clear. Only one more site is mentioned by Lewis and Clarke on the east, and this, it is believed, is the one where the excavations hereinafter described were made. This last site was by their reckoning about thirteen miles above their Fort Abraham Lincoln camp, at the head of an island. The site at which the excavation was carried on is probably fourteen miles north of their camp. It is at the head of a broad place in the river where there is a small island now. Mr. Burgois, who has lived in the neighborhood for a number of years, says that formerly the island was much

[1] [See facing p. 85, cat. 116 — Analyst]

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larger. This is the only widening of the river where an island could form within the distance stated, and lastly the site is in a very conspicuous situation on the top of a hill. The earthworks are larger than is usual around the other sites, and in every respect the place is apt to attract the attention of any one passing up river.

At a distance of some three miles further up on the same side is another village site not quite as large. It is hidden now from the river by cottonwoods which have grown up in front of it; the site lies on the very edge of the first bench in a level plain. The finds there agree with those in the other places and it is very evidently a remnant of the same people. This gives four known sites on the east side.

On every hand thus it is evident that there is great uncertainty. The number of sites is far from certain. The sites cannot be absolutely identified even when historically described — neither locations nor distribution according with descriptions given. The fact that the Mandans have a tradition of the Hidatsa living near them for a while also adds to the confusion. But the tradition as given by Maximilian[1] states also that the Hidatsa were a roving people, and non-agricultural on their arrival. Consequently there would probably be little difficulty in distinguishing their sites. Moreover, the Hidatsa are supposed to have stayed there only four or five years, and then to have proceeded up to the Knife River.

One more phase of the location question remains to be discussed. The last disturbing feature in identifying the sites is the wandering of the Arikara who, as has been said, also left a number of village sites. It is probable, however, that the Heart River area was never occupied by them for any actual settlement. For this belief a number of reasons may be given. The Arikara are a branch of the Skidi Pawnee which split off through some quarrel and started off independently, reaching in the course of time the Missouri River and ascending it by stages. Their villages were stationary and much like the Mandans but none of them seem to have been as permanent as those of the latter. This fact offers one reason for supposing that such

[1] Op. cit., p. 435.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Heart River sites as were seen were not of Arikara origin, for the deposits in each place show a very long period of occupation. If the Arikara had just separated from the Pawnees at the time of Verendrye's visit, they certainly did not have time to accumulate such deposits before Lewis and Clarke came.

However, a brief consideration of what is known of their movements is still worth something though the evidence is negative. Verendrye[1] gives the following account of the Arikara: —

"At a day's journey from the last of these were the Panana . . . . . then the Panani. These two nations . . . were now at war for four years, had always . . . . been closely united . . . "

This extract seems to place the time of the separation at about 1734. The Arikara were seen in 1804 when Lewis and Clarke visited them, and at that time they lived in three villages at the mouth of the Grand River. On the way up, both on the Cheyenne and Moreau rivers old Arikara villages were noted and placed on the map. Later in 1812 Bradbury in the description of his journey says that they still occupied the Grand River site. However, during the period before Lewis and Clarke's arrival other moves had been made. Lewis and Clarke[2] state that after smallpox destroyed most of the Mandan nation, reducing them to one large and some small villages they moved up into the Arikara country where they lived many years in peace.

Alexander Henry[3] says that the Arikara and Mandans lived together in the same village thirty leagues down; they separated and the Arikara went down, the Mandans up till stopped by the Hidatsa.

Maximilian[4] states that thirty-seven years before, when Charboneau came, the Arikara lived on a point just above the largest Mandan village. After that they moved back down stream and the Mandans plundered their village.

The only point in all the above which seems to connect the Arikara with the Heart River sites is the statement by Henry that the two nations lived together at thirty leagues south. The circumstances of this seem to point to the site opposite Washburn, and it may be safe to consider his estimate of the

[1] Op. cit., 19.
[2] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 234.
[3] Nov. 12, 1804.
[4] Op. cit., p. 336.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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172 distance as an error in stating the story. The more so since
• 175 details coincide with accounts of the Washburn site.
361 Reviewing the whole question of the Arikara's locations, there are:—a site on the Cheyenne River, one on the Moreau River, one on the Grand River, and one some fifty miles above the Heart River, near Washburn. In 1738 they were on or near the Grand, and there again in 1804. Maximilian says that before the smallpox the Mandans feared no one, but that the Arikara and the Cheyennes were their natural enemies. Taking into account the last statement and also the fact that during the period of sixty-six years the Arikara established such a number of villages, and, moreover, that the Mandan alliance with the Arikara is placed in all the traditions as after the fall of the Mandans, it may be safely stated that the Arikara are not responsible for any of the Heart River sites.

In the discussion the location and number of the sites has now been treated and there are points which should be emphasized. The only facts which are certain are that the Mandans formerly had at least six large villages in the neighborhood of the Heart River which were abandoned between 1772 and 1804, and that there are at least six old village sites which can still be located in that region. In addition there are the following which while not definitely proved, may be regarded as highly probable: that the Heart River sites are identical with the Mandan ones; that they cannot be attributed to the Hidatsa with any reason; and lastly that there is no proof for, and much circumstantial evidence against the belief that any of this group of sites is due to the Arikara. Details of culture, historical evidence, and archaeological finds, will reënforce belief in the mutual identity, and from now on all sites of the Heart River area will be considered as of Mandan origin.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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Island in South Dakota and was told by traders that there were a number of others about that country. Maximilian was told that the Mandans first touched the Missouri at White Earth River in South Dakota, with which might be connected the reported existence of the remains of circular earth lodges in southern Wisconsin. Here are arguments for both theories; up to the present, however, the matter must remain unsettled until some careful investigation decides it.

HISTORY:—In the earliest historical accounts the Mandans were firmly established in stationary villages in the neighborhood of the Heart River. Verendrye says that they lived in six large villages along the Mandan River, were a large and powerful nation and feared none of their neighbors, all of whom they dominated by their superior culture. Their manufactures were almost necessities among the other tribes, and in trade they were able to dictate their own terms. The forts he said were impregnable to Indians, being very well fortified. Verendrye visited the smallest village in which he said that there were one hundred and thirty houses by actual count. His son, who visited one of the larger villages, declared that it was twice as large, judging from which it can safely be assumed that there were at least one thousand houses in the several villages. Lewis and Clarke declared that in the two villages of one hundred huts there were three hundred and fifty warriors; figuring at this rate there should have been at least fifteen thousand Mandans in 1738 dwelling prosperously in large and well-fortified towns.

For the next sixty-six years there is little information but their own tradition. Judging from McKenzie's narrative they continued prosperous and powerful up to 1772 at least. He declared that at that time they lived in nine villages, large and near to each other, and could muster fifteen thousand warriors. The latter estimate is probably large, but the whole statement seems to show that no misfortune had come to them at that date. Their remaining history is summed up in their own tradition as related to Lewis and Clarke, Maximilian and others.

This tradition runs as follows:—Formerly they lived happily and prosperously in nine large villages on the Missouri near the mouth of the Heart River. Six or seven of these vil-

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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lages were on the west side and two or three were on the east side of the river. Maximilian gives names for fourteen villages which have been already quoted. For a great many years they lived there when one day the smallpox came to those on the east side of the river. While this smallpox was still rife, the Sioux attacked and destroyed the east villages. The survivors then proceeded up the river some forty miles where they all settled in one large village. Soon after the smallpox reduced the villages on the west to five, and still later the five went up to where the others were in the neighborhood of some Arikara, and settled in two villages. A great many people had been destroyed and they were now no longer strong and fearless. They made an alliance with the Arikara against the Sioux. So far the tradition is our only authority, and all this had happened before the year 1796.

In Henry and Schoolcraft is the statement that in 1796 the two villages on the south united, and both the one on the south and the one on the north moved up river some distance. From this time on there is a nearly continuous chronicle. Lewis and Clarke found the two villages one on each side and about fifteen miles below the Knife River. At that time both villages consisted of forty to fifty lodges and, united, could raise about three hundred and fifty men. Lewis and Clarke describe them as engaging in continual warfare with the Arikara and Sioux against whom they united with the Hidatsa. The description given by Lewis and Clarke agrees with the conditions some two years later when Henry visited them.

Thereafter no particular event marks the history of the Mandans for some years. The Arikara went up and lived near them again for a time, but soon went back to the Grand River. Catlin found them in practically the condition in which Lewis and Clarke saw them, and so did Maximilian. Maximilian says they still lived in the two villages; the largest on the south side was Mih-toutta-Hangkouche and consisted of about sixty lodges. The smaller one, Rouhptare, was on the north and consisted of thirty-eight lodges. The villages were still fortified, though poorly, and there had been little change in the condition of the people.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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In 1837, however, another great calamity came upon the Mandans. Again smallpox attacked them, raged for many weeks and finally left but one hundred and twenty-five souls.[1] These were taken in by the Arikara with whom they intermarried; finally they separated, again forming a small village of their own at Ft. Berthold. In 1850 there were three hundred and eighty-five living, but these were very largely of mixed blood. To-day there are only a few of the full-blood Mandans left, although the latest official returns give a total of two hundred and forty-nine. The culture has changed, the language has changed, and as a nation the Mandans are practically extinct.

PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS: — A discussion of the physical characteristics of the Mandans is rather interesting in view of the fact that so many tales of their being a white race were circulated. Verendrye was told by the Assiniboine that he was on the way to visit people white like himself. The Assiniboine word for the Mandans, *ouachipanne*, was the close relative of the Mandan word for white man, *ouachi*. Catlin became convinced of the white origin of the Mandans and Verendrye and Henry both commented on their light complexions.

Verendrye said he expected to see a different sort of people but they differed little from the Assiniboine. Then later: "This nation is mixed white and black. The women are fairly good looking especially the white, and many have blond hair. . . . . The men are stout and tall . . . . . with a good physiognomy. The women have not the Indian physiognomy. . . . . "[2]

Lewis and Clarke did not mention any particular difference between the Mandans and other Indians of the region, although Catlin relates that when he left St. Louis to ascend the Missouri, Governor Clarke told him that he was going among a strange people, half white. Henry, however, did notice some peculiarities in the Mandan physique. He says[3] that in general the Mandans had not the coarse hair of Indians, it was finer, rather inclining to dark brown, and some had fair hair. The eyes of the Mandans were not as black as usual, but brown and some

[1] Schoolcraft: vol. III, p. 254. [2] Op. cit., p. 21. [3] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 341.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

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The author, in his Preface, gives so full an account of the objects and results of his travels in the interior of North America, that it would have been unnecessary for me to prefix any observations of my own, were it not for some circumstances, connected with the translation, which seem to require explanation.

The prospectus of the German original announced that the work would consist of two large quarto volumes, accompanied by a portfolio of above eighty beautifully coloured copper-plates, executed by eminent artists at Paris, from the original drawings. Some specimens of the plates having been brought to London, were so much admired by many competent judges, that Messrs. Ackermann were induced to agree with the Paris publisher for a limited number of copies of the plates; and as it might justly be presumed that the English purchasers would be desirous of having the narrative of the travels, it was resolved to publish a translation compressed into a single volume. By selecting, however, a page of a large size, the translator has been able to retain all the most interesting parts, omitting only minute details of the measurements of animals, &c. All the chapters illustrative of the manners, customs, traditions, and superstitions of the Indians are given without abridgment, and these, as the author justly observes, are by far the most attractive and valuable portions of the work. The papers in the Appendix, giving an account of the plants collected, are also inserted entire, and have been kindly revised by my friend Sir William Hooker.

The principal omission is that of the very extensive vocabularies of the languages of the different Indian tribes. They are written so as to represent the pronunciation in German, and have, in numerous instances, special directions, as thus: kontschue (*oe* as in French, *schue*, short and quick, *ei*). It appeared to be a hopeless and unprofitable task to rewrite these vocabularies, and to represent the true pronunciation in English. Those who are curious in such matters will find many specimens in Mr. Catlin's interesting work.

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The numerous Indian proper names are, of course, written in the original as pronounced in German. It has been thought best to leave them unchanged, merely requesting the reader to observe, in general, that the consonants are pronounced as in English; only that *ch* is guttural, as in the Scotch word *loch*; that *sch* is pronounced *sh*, and that the vowels have the same sound as in French, *ah*, *a*, *ee*, *o*, *oo*.

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The author alludes, in his Preface, to the recent fearful ravages which have been caused among the Indian races by the small-pox. The origin and extent of these ravages will be seen from the following very affecting letter on the subject:

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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"NEW ORLEANS, *June* 6, 1838.—The southern parts of the United States, particularly Florida, Alabama, and Louisiana, are as healthy as can be wished; there has been no appearance of the yellow fever, and even at the Havannah only a few isolated cases have occurred. During the autumn, winter, and spring, the small-pox has carried off many victims among the Whites, and thousands of the Indians; but it has now wholly disappeared in the territory of the Union, in consequence of a general vaccination of persons of all ages. On the other hand, we have, from the trading posts on the western frontier of the Missouri, the most frightful accounts of the ravages of the small-pox among the Indians. The destroying angel has visited the unfortunate sons of the wilderness with terrors never before known, and has converted the extensive hunting grounds, as well as the peaceful settlements of those tribes, into desolate and boundless cemeteries. The number of the victims within a few months is estimated at 30,000, and the pestilence is still spreading. The warlike spirit which but lately animated the several Indian tribes, and but a few months ago gave reason to apprehend the breaking-out of a sanguinary war, is broken. The mighty warriors are now the prey of the greedy wolves of the prairie, and the few survivors, in mute despair, throw themselves on the pity of the Whites, who, however, can do but little to help them. The vast preparations for the protection of the western frontier are superfluous: another arm has undertaken the defence of the white inhabitants of the frontier; and the funereal torch, that lights the red man to his dreary grave, has become the auspicious star of the advancing settler, and of the roving trader of the white race.

"The small-pox was communicated to the Indians by a person who was on board the steam-boat which went, last summer, up to the mouth of the Yellow Stone, to convey both the government presents for the Indians, and the goods for the barter trade of the fur dealers. The disorder communicated itself to several of the crew of the steam-boat. The officers gave notice of it to the Indians, and exerted themselves to the utmost to prevent any intercourse between them and the vessel; but this was a vain attempt; for the Indians knew that presents and goods for barter were come for them, and it would have been impossible to drive them away from the fort without having recourse to arms. Two days before the arrival of the steam-boat, an express had been received at the trading fort, 2000 miles west of St. Louis, with the melancholy news of the breaking-out of the small-pox on board; this was immediately communicated to the Indians, with the most urgent entreaties to keep at a distance; but this was as good as preaching to the winds. The survivors now lament their disobedience, and are as submissive as the poor dogs which look in vain in the prairie for the footsteps of their masters. The miserable remnants of the Indians implore us not to abandon them in their misfortune, and promise, if we will take pity on them, never more to disobey our commands.

"The disease first broke out about the 15th of June, 1837, in the village of the Mandans, a few miles below the American fort, Leavenworth, from which it spread, in all directions, with unexampled fury. The character of the disease was as appalling as the rapidity of the propagation. Among the remotest tribes of the Assiniboins from fifty to one hundred died daily. The patient, when first seized, complains of dreadful pains in the head and back, and in a few hours he is dead: the body immediately turns black, and swells to thrice its natural size. In vain were hospitals fitted up in Fort Union, and the whole stock of medicines exhausted. For many weeks together our workmen did nothing but collect the dead bodies and bury them in large pits; but since the ground is frozen we are obliged to throw them into the river. The ravages of the disorder were the most frightful among the Mandans, where it first broke out. That once powerful tribe, which, by accumulated disasters, had already been reduced to 1500 souls, was exterminated, with the exception of thirty persons. Their neighbours, the Bigbellied Indians, and the Ricarees, were out on a hunting excursion at the time of the breaking-out of the disorder, so that it did not reach them till a month later; yet half the tribe was already destroyed on the 1st of October, and the disease continued to spread. Very few of those who were attacked recovered their health; but when they saw all their relations buried, and the pestilence still raging with unabated fury among the remainder of their countrymen, life became a burden to them, and they put an end to their wretched existence, either with their knives and muskets, or by precipitating themselves from the summit of the rock near their settlement. The prairie all around is a vast field of death, covered with unburied corpses, and spreading, for miles, pestilence and infection. The Bigbellied Indians and the Ricarees, lately amounting to 4000 souls, were reduced to less than the half. The Assiniboins, 9000 in number, roaming over a hunting territory to the north of the Missouri, as far as the trading posts of the Hudson's Bay Company, are, in the literal sense of the expression, nearly exterminated. They, as well as the Crows and Blackfeet, endeavoured to fly in all directions, but the disease everywhere pursued them. At last every feeling of mutual compassion and tenderness seems to have disappeared. Every one avoided the others. Women and children wandered about in the prairie seeking

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for a county subsistence. The accounts of the situation of the Blackfeet are awful. The inmates of above 1000 of their tents are already swept away. They are the bravest and the most crafty of all the Indians, dangerous and implacable to their enemies, but faithful and kind to their friends. But very lately we seriously apprehended that a terrible war with them was at hand, and that they would unite their whole of their remaining strength against the Whites. Every day brought accounts of new armaments, and of a loudly expressed spirit of vengeance towards the Whites: but the small-pox cast them down, the brave as well as the feeble; and those who were once seized by this infection never recovered. It is affirmed that several bands of warriors, who were on their march to attack the fort, all perished by the way, so that not one survived to convey the intelligence to their tribe. Thus, in the course of a few weeks, their strength and their courage were broken, and nothing was to be heard but the frightful wailings of death in the camp. Every thought of war was dispelled, and the few that are left are as humble as famished dogs. No language can picture the scene of desolation which the country presents. In whatever direction we go, we see nothing but mellancholy wrecks of human life. The tents are still standing on every hill, but no rising smoke announces the presence of human beings, and no sounds but the croaking of the raven and the howling of the wolf interrupt the fearful silence. The above accounts do not complete the terrible intelligence which we receive. There is scarcely a doubt that the pestilence will spread to the tribes in and beyond the Rocky Mountains, as well as to the Indians in the direction of Santa Fé and Mexico. It seems to be irrevocably written in the book of fate, that the race of red men shall be wholly extirpated in the land in which they ruled the undisputed masters, till the rapacity of the Whites brought to their shores the murderous fire-arms, the enervating ardent spirits, and the all-destructive pestilence of the small-pox. According to the most recent accounts, the number of the Indians who have been swept away by the small-pox, on the western frontier of the United States, amounts to more than 60,000."

The general correctness of the melancholy details given in the above letter has been confirmed to me by several travellers who have visited these nations since they were desolated by this awful epidemic. The almost total extinction of these tribes greatly enhances the value and importance of the full and interesting particulars imparted by his Highness.

H. EVANS LLOYD.

CHARTERHOUSE SQUARE,
May 1st, 1843.

[pp. xi-xii, 1-333 omitted]

8: Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1955
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*Two Processes of Change in Mandan-Hidatsa Kinship Terminology**

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INTRODUCTION

WE ALREADY have some understanding of the progressive stages in the breakdown of a Crow type kinship system under conditions of social change (Spoehr 1947; Eggan 1950), but we lack sufficient information on the actual processes and interactions involved in the shift from one basic kinship type to another. This paper deals with processes of kinship change in one village of Mandan-Hidatsa Indians living on the Fort Berthold Reservation in North Dakota.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The Mandan and Hidatsa are both small Siouan-speaking tribes with a long history of residence in the Missouri River Valley. Although the Mandan and Hidatsa had different origins, spoke mutually unintelligible languages, and lived in separate villages, they have been in intimate and peaceful association for over two hundred years, with constant cultural borrowings and intermarriage. For the problem to be dealt with here, we may consider the two tribes as one.

Both groups were part of the Prairie earth lodge complex, which included the Chiwere and Dhegiha Sioux and the Caddoan tribes and covered the area encompassed by the Arkansas and Missouri River valleys. A dual subsistence economy of agriculture and hunting was adjusted to an abundant ecological setting in the fertile creek and river bottom lands. Each tribe was composed of a number of independent villages integrated by social and ceremonial ties. The characteristic dwelling was the earth lodge, occupied by matrilocal extended families. The social structure of the Mandan-Hidatsa included a clan and moiety system, matrilineal lineages, an elaborate set of societies, and a Crow type kinship system.

In the early nineteenth century, the two tribes were severely reduced in population by a series of smallpox epidemics. By 1862, the remnants of the Mandan-Hidatsa had consolidated with the Arikara in one village for mutual defense against hostile nomads. With the Indian Bureau allotment program in the last decade of the nineteenth century, the people of the village were scattered into a number of separate and smaller communities on the Fort Berthold Reservation. A group of Mandan and Hidatsa families established

* An abbreviated version of this paper was read at the 52nd Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association held at Tucson, Arizona, Dec. 28–30, 1953. I am indebted to the Social Science Research Council and the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago for financial support of field work. Fred Eggan and others have kindly read this paper and have made suggestions for its improvement.

8: Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1955
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themselves in one of these communities located on an isolated segment of the reservation between the Missouri and the Little Missouri rivers. The village is called Lone Hill by the Indian people. In 1951, Lone Hill had a total Indian population of 267 individuals forming 48 nuclear families.

THE PROBLEM

In the summer of 1951 and continuing in 1952–53, I studied social and cultural change in Lone Hill village. Starting with an investigation of kinship using the genealogical method I obtained kinship schedules essentially similar to those reported by Morgan (1871:291–382), Lowie (1917), and Bowers (1950, ms.) as characterizing the traditional Crow lineage system. It became apparent that for some members of Lone Hill, both old and young, the terminological system had not changed. While the majority of the schedules gathered in the village represented the Crow lineage system, this was not so for every case. A number of schedules were obtained with English terms and were directly comparable to the American type of system. Thus, within one community, I obtained two kinds of kinship patterns, the first aboriginal Indian and the second modern near-white.

This extreme variation is not too surprising if one considers previous work on kinship change in other American Indian tribes which have had a comparable Crow lineage system. Spoehr (1947), comparing related tribes within the Southeastern area, found direct evidence of a complete series from a pure Crow type to a variant of an American generational system with intermediate forms showing a regular pattern of change. The Schmitts (n.d.), within one community of Wichita, found variations in kinship terminology which fitted into the latter part of Spoehr's more complete series. The direction of the Wichita data tends to validate Spoehr's conclusions—when a Crow system changes under modern acculturative influence, there is an increasing patrilineal emphasis, a shift from a lineal to a generational pattern in classification, and a diminishing importance of kinship in regulating social life.

The point to be stressed here is that the terminological systems gathered among the Indian people of Lone Hill village were either pure Crow or white generation types—both extremes without the intermediate variations. While a generational type kinship system is found among the Mandan-Hidatsa and in the cases reported upon by Spoehr and the Schmitts, the absence of intermediate variations in Lone Hill suggests a significant difference in the kind of acculturation taking place. This difference may be clarified by a description of the types of terminological systems found in Lone Hill, followed by an analysis of the mechanisms of kinship change.

THE KINSHIP PATTERNS

Of the two terminological kinship patterns found in Lone Hill, the pure Crow type remains the operating functional system for the majority of the people of the village. Figure 1 is a diagram of the system in the Hidatsa language with English equivalents. The orthography follows Bowers (ms.).

9:Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1956
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Primary Group Experience and the Processes of Acculturation[1]

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INTRODUCTION

101 121 THE problem of this paper is to explain why some members of the Mandan-Hidatsa village of Lone Hill[2] become more acculturated than others. Our particular thesis is that the differences in degree of acculturation found among the Indian people are in large measure a product of early experience in the intimate family group, and the cultural orientation of their parents or their surrogates.

177 121 There are striking differences in extent of acculturation in Lone Hill. They are manifest in type of home, education, subsistence, speech, and manner, and would be readily apparent even to the most casual observer. In a previous paper it has been shown that some families in Lone Hill follow the Crow lineage kinship system and Indian values while others have adopted the American kinship and value systems (Bruner 1955). A former superintendent of the Agency, who is also a trained social scientist, has written, " . . . there is at Fort Berthold every degree of acculturation, from the family living on the reservation in the hoe culture age of the original village life to a few well-to-do ranchers with nearly every modern convenience in their homes" (Riefel 1952:125). Our purpose in this paper is not to describe these differences in acculturation in any detail, nor is it to correlate them with a check list of unweighted factors; it is rather to delineate the process by which they arise in the family situation and to analyze the larger social context in which they occur.

HISTORY AND METHOD

Any study of acculturation is facilitated to the extent that a means can be established to control comparisons (Eggan 1954); in this paper the control stems from comparison of group differences within one village (cf. Spindler 1955; Rapoport 1954). The criteria for segmenting the population according to degree of acculturation will be based upon differential participation in contemporary reservation culture and not upon the presence or absence of aboriginal Indian or white traits. The people of Lone Hill live in a culture that has emerged from the aboriginal culture of their ancestors and has borrowed from local white, mass American, and pan-Indian cultures.

177 175 The Upper Missouri River Valley was the scene of turbulent changes during the past 200 years. Within this period the horse was introduced, many white men came and with them trade, numerous manufactured goods, devastating plagues of smallpox, the arrival of white homesteaders, the development of surrounding towns, and deliberate attempts by missionaries and other members of a superordinate majority to change a subordinate Indian minority, including the efforts of the military and of the Indian Bureau. An

9:Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1956
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indirect effect of contact resulted in the displacement of Eastern tribes, the formation of full Plains equestrian nomadism, and constant raids by hostile groups. These momentous events precipitated radical changes in the cultures of all Plains-Prairie peoples, and the Mandan-Hidatsa were no exception, although they did change less than other earth-lodge tribes (Strong 1940; Jablow 1950; Eggan 1952; Krieger 1953).

Indian culture today includes automobiles, farm equipment, washing machines, radios, and other material objects of American culture. Clothing and household goods are generally purchased through Western mail order catalogs. The major sources of cash income are the cattle business, agricultural enterprises, leasing lands to whites, wage work, and relief money. Every adult has attended government or missionary schools, and Catholic and Congregational Churches are established in the village. Thirty-one of the sixty-four males over seventeen years of age have had military experience.

Lone Hill village has never been a closed, self-sufficient society, from the time it was founded in the last decade of the nineteenth century with the allotment program of the Indian Bureau until the present. Today every adult deals with white people who reside outside the community, although contact is limited. The Indian's cash income and the education of his children are controlled in part by the Indian Bureau and by forces in the larger American society. Agency personnel, government employees, missionaries, day school teachers, traveling salesmen and local tradespeople, farmers and ranchers, visit with Indians both on and off the reservation. The resident of Lone Hill village buys goods from white storekeepers, attends schools taught by whites, transacts business with white government people, and often seeks wage work from nearby whites. The Indian must satisfy specialized needs through the services of white doctors, lawyers and professional people.

Despite the many American elements which have been adopted, Hidatsa is the major spoken language in Lone Hill today, secular Indian ceremonial dances are performed, and the social organization includes matrilineal clans and a Crow type kinship system. Sacred bundles are highly respected, Indian doctors utilize native medicine to cure the sick, and distinctively Indian values are manifest on many occasions. The linguistic, religious, and social patterns are not considered here as isolated survivals persisting intact from the aboriginal past, for they too have changed from older times as a consequence of changing conditions of life; and they function in a very different total situation in 1950 as compared with 1850 or 1750.

Viewed historically, contemporary Indian culture is mixed. It consists of automobiles from Detroit, dances from the Cheyenne, medicine bundles from the Mandan, and a language from the Hidatsa. From the perspective of some individuals who share it, this mixed culture is perfectly consistent. No person in Lone Hill today knows how to stalk buffalo, scalp a Sioux, or shape a stone arrowhead. With the exception of a few very old people, no one in Lone Hill has ever lived in a culture in which these activities were performed. Our task is to understand how groups of individuals in Lone Hill come to regard and participate in that historically mixed but contemporary functioning Indian culture.

10: Neill H-H(no date) 1884 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

LIFE AMONG THE MANDANS AND GROS VENTRES EIGHTY YEARS AGO.

AS DESCRIBED BY A PARTNER OF THE NORTH WEST COMPANY.

The Mandans were unknown to white men, until they were visited by the Sons of Sieur Veranderie, who reached the Missouri, by way of the Mouse river, and, in January, 1743, discovered the Rocky mountains. The Jesuit Coquard, who had accompanied the Veranderies in some of their expeditions, writes that they first met the Mantanes, and next the Brochets. After these, were the Gros Ventres, the Crows, the Flat Heads, the Black Feet and Dog Feet, who were established on the Missouri, even up to the Falls, and about thirty leagues beyond they found a narrow pass in the mountains.

After the organization of the North-west Company of Montreal, English traders came from the Assinaboine river, to trade with the tribes of the Missouri. The compiler of this article has in his possession a copy of the unpublished journal of Alexander Henry, a partner of the North-west Company, which contains the following account of what he knows of the condition, position and customs of the Mandans at the beginning of the present century, and extracts from which are worthy of preservation for the use of the antiquarian and ethnologist.

On the 7th of July, 1806, Henry left the post of the North-west Company at the junction of the Pembina with the Red River of the North, and on the 12th he arrived at the establishments of Riviere la Souris (Mouse river), on the south side of the Assinaboine river. A Hudson Bay Company post was on the north side, where a North-west Company post was once situated. He found the Hudson Bay Company's people very busy in making hair lines which are used to fetter horses. He writes: "The hair which they commonly make use of, is that which the buffalo has between the horns, which is sometimes upward of a foot long. They also make use of the horse hair for that purpose, which is much stronger."

The post near the Mouse River of the North West Company was in charge of F. A. LaRocque. On Monday the 14th of July the expedition left for the Missouri, consisting of Henry, Allan McDonald, T. Viandria, Joseph Du Charme, and Hugh McCracken, * the guide an old Irishman who had once been a soldier in the British artillery. McCracken was the per-

* Lewis and Clarke found McCracken in 1804 at the Mandan Village where they wintered. In an account of their expedition published in *Harper's Family Library*, vol. 1, page 125, under date of November 1, 1804, is the following: "Mr. McCracken the trader whom we found here set out to-day on his return to the British fort and factory on the Assiniboin River, about one hundred and fifty miles from this place."

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formed by the women in the morning.[1] Their sweet corn and beans are boiled whole; they make use of large earthen pots of their own manufacture, made of black clay, of which they have plenty near their villages. They make them of different sizes, from five gallons to a quart. In these vessels is never anything of a greasy nature.[1] * * * * * The bottoms of the pots are of an oblong shape; it therefore requires much care to keep them from upsetting, for which purpose when they are put to the fire a hole is made in the ashes to secure and prop them erect, and when taken away they are placed upon a sort of mat made of the fibers of the bois blanc; these coils or rugs are made of different sizes, according to the dimensions of the several pots, which keeps them firm and secure. Some of these pots are provided with two cones, or handles.[1] * *

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Baptiste La France made his appearance here. This man had left the Prairie la Souris [Mouse River] with a small assortment of goods for the purpose of trading, equipped by the Hudson Bay Company. He now resides upon the south side of the river, at the great Mandane village,* and hearing of the arrival of white people, he came over to us. He now informed the chief, Black Cat, who his guests were and the cause of our visit, which was mere curiosity. [The chief] instantly retired to his family hut and brought out his flag, which was given him in 1804–5; they alsogave him a silver medal, and the same articles were also given to the principal chief of each of the other villages, also several very useful utensils were left amongst them.† I saw the remains of an excellent large corn mill, which the foolish fellows had demolished on purpose to barb their arrows; the largest piece of it which they could not break nor work up into any weapon they have now fixed to a wooden handle, and make use of it to pound marrow bones, to make grease."

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We were now desirous of crossing the river, therefore sent off La France to engage people of the opposite village to come over for us.[2] * * * * * * * We were now informed that eight canoes were in waiting for us, from the opposite side, and the same number of young men had come over to assist in crossing our horses.[2] * * * * On our going over to the war side we found the chief of the Great Mandan village, Le Gros Blanc. He was waiting with his own canoe to ferry over Mr. Chaboillez and me. He appeared very

†To each chief, Lewis and Clarke presented a medal, a flag, and a uniform coat. In the narrative of the expedition is the following sentence: "A variety of other presents were distributed, but none seemed to give them more satisfaction than the iron corn mill, which we gave to the Mandans."

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*The Mandans, about 1760, were settled on the banks of the Missouri, eighty miles below, seven villages on the west and two on the east side of the river. The two villages were reduced by small-pox, and moved up the river and settled a village near the Receivers, and afterwards the people of the other village joined them. In 1796 they were in two villages at the points where Henry found them, on opposite sides of Missouri, about three miles apart.

[1] [Category 116, p. 328.-A.] [2] [Category 116, p. 328.-A]

LIFE AMONG THE MANDANS EIGHTY YEARS AGO.

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FORMER RELATIONS OF PAWNEES[1] AND MANDANS.

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Not many years ago the Pawnees and Mandans were allied to each other, and lived together in the same villages, which were situated on the banks of the river Missouri, about thirty leagues below. A misunderstanding happening to occur amongst them they separated, the Pawnees retired down the river and built their village where it stands at present (A. D. 1806), and the Mandans proceeded with an intention of settling themselves somewhere about the confluence of the Little Missouri river, or on the upper part of Reviere La Souris (Moose river). But on their arrival at this place the Big Bellies barred the road, and put a stop to their progress to the westward, telling them that they would not permit them, or any one, to build higher up the river, and desiring the Mandans to build where they are at present. The latter, it seems were not much inclined to comply, but dreading the displeasure of the others who were more numerous, comprised, then, of a village of nine hundred huts, necessity obliged them to accept the terms. Since that period the Pawnees and Mandans have frequently been at war, and as often made peace again. They are a stationary people as the Mandans, and cultivate the ground in the same manner;

1 [Henry[2] probably mistakes Pawnee for Arikara--Analyst]

[pp. 254 to 377 have no information on the Mandan]

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●175 they are represented as a treacherous, deceitful people, always
648 taking advantage of their neighbors, and favoring the Sioux when they come to war this way, and frequently intermix with them to annoy the Mandans and Big Bellies.

SIGN LANGUAGE.

201 This language is entirely different from the natives of this place, and it is only by signs that they usually communicate with each other, excepting a few among them who understand each other's language. It serves as interpreter upon any affair of importance. It is surprising how dexterous all these natives of the plains are, in the art of communicating their ideas by signs. They will hold conference, for several hours together, upon different subjects, and during the whole time not a single word will be pronounced upon either side, and still they appear to comprehend each other perfectly well. This mode of communication appears to be quite natural to them, other difficult events are performed with the greatest ease and readiness. They never seem to be at loss, or in want of a sign to express their meaning.

COURTESY TO STRANGERS.

648 Soon after our arrival, there was a great uproar occasioned
721 by the unexpected visit of six Pawnees, from their own vil-
728 lage, sixty leagues below this, on the banks of the same (Missouri) river. They were sent upon an embassy to treat for peace. It appears that last spring, some of these people had accompanied a war party of Sioux who came here and killed five Mandans. The latter nation, in company with the Big Bellies (Gros Ventres,) soon after returned the visit, and not finding the Sioux, on their return killed two Pawnees, but this did not satisfy them. They had informed the Pawnees that they might expect a more formal visit the ensuing fall; that both the Mandans and Big Bellies were determined to exterminate every Pawnee they could find, and lay their villages even with the ground.

[202] To avoid this storm, the latter thought prudent to sue for peace. A messenger was instantly dispatched to the upper villages to give information of their arrival. In the meantime the strangers were very hospitably entertained, conducted into a hut, and presented with corn and beans, dried meats, etc. All were now silent for some time, awaiting the determination of the Big Bellies.

ARRIVAL OF GROS VENTRES.

The Big Bellies, in a short time, arrived on horse-back; about thirty men came down full speed; they brought down an inter-

[Category 116, p. 335.—A.]